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 DE RUEHC #9668 1050145
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 O 132308Z APR 84
 FM SECSTATE WASHDC
 TO RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE OOOO
 RUFHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE OOOO
 RUFHJA/USMISSION USBERLIN IMMEDIATE OOOO
 INFO RUFHEB/AMEMBASSY BERLIN IMMEDIATE OOOO
 RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE OOOO
 RUEHLD/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE OOOO
 RUFHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE OOOO
 RUFHNA/USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE OOOO
 RUSNNOA/ USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN OOOO
 RUDORRG/ US ELEMENT LIVE OAK IMMEDIATE OOOO
 RUFDAAA/CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE IMMEDIATE
 RHFOAAA/CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE IMMEDIATE
 BT
 S E C R E T STATE 109668

E.O. 12356 DECL: OADR
 TAGS: EAIR, PGOV, PREL, BZ, BOG, UR, GE
 SUBJECT: FOLLOW-UP DEMARCHE TO SOVIETS ON BERLIN
 CORRIDORS

REF: STATE 104083

1. S - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. UNDER SECRETARY EAGLEBURGER CALLED IN SOVIET AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN APRIL 12 TO PROTEST RECENT SOVIET ACTIONS IN THE BERLIN AIR CORRIDORS. DOBRYNIN SAID MOSCOW HAD INSTRUCTED HIM TO RESPOND THAT THERE IS NO CONNECTION BETWEEN EVENTS IN THE AIR CORRIDORS AND EAST-WEST ISSUES, THAT THERE WAS NO THREAT MADE TO SHOOT DOWN THE U.S. COMPANY-OWNED AIRCRAFT LAST WEEKEND, AND THAT THE SOVIETS ARE NOT LOOKING FOR TROUBLE ON AIR ACCESS TO BERLIN. HE SUGGESTED THAT WE SIT DOWN AND TRY TO FIND A WAY OUT OF THE CURRENT SITUATION, RETURNING TO EXISTING PROCEDURES AND PROCEEDING FROM THERE. ALTHOUGH DOBRYNIN DID NOT RETREAT FROM HIS POSITION THAT THE ALLIES HAD CHANGED LONGSTANDING PROCEDURES, HE EMPHASIZED ENDING CURRENT OPERATIONAL DISPUTES. DEPARTMENT COMMENTS AND PRESS GUIDANCE WILL FOLLOW BY SEPTELS; TALKING POINTS WHICH WERE PROVIDED TO DOBRYNIN (ALONG WITH AGREED NON-PAPER) ARE CONTAINED IN FINAL PARAS BELOW. END SUMMARY.

3. UNDER SECRETARY EAGLEBURGER CALLED IN SOVIET AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN APRIL 12 TO PROTEST RECENT SOVIET ACTIONS IN THE BERLIN AIR CORRIDORS. ALSO PRESENT AT THE MEETING WAS DAS NILES. EAGLEBURGER PROVIDED DOBRYNIN WITH THE AGREED NON-PAPER OUTLINING ALLIED OBJECTIONS ON

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THE EXTENSION OF AIRSPACE RESERVATIONS, AND GAVE HIM ALSO A COPY OF TALKING POINTS WHICH COVER THE RESERVATIONS POLICY, THE THREAT TO CORPORATE AIRCRAFT, AND THE GROWTH IN SOVIET ASSERTIVENESS DURING RECENT MONTHS.

4. REFERRING TO RECENT U.S.-SOVIET TROUBLES DURING THE PAST FEW YEARS, EAGLEBURGER POINTED OUT THAT ONE AREA WHERE WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO AVOID TROUBLE IS IN BERLIN. HE ADDED THAT SOME PEOPLE IN WASHINGTON BELIEVED IN THE BEGINNING THAT THESE PROBLEMS WERE TECHNICAL, AND THAT SOME SOVIET ACTIONS MAY HAVE BEEN TAKEN FOR GOOD AND SERIOUS REASONS. NOW, HOWEVER, THE PROBLEMS HAVE GONE ON FAR TOO LONG. IN PARTICULAR THE THREAT TO THE PRIVATE AIRCRAFT LAST WEEKEND HAS RAISED THE LEVEL OF CONCERN. THE ATTITUDE IN WASHINGTON HAS CHANGED DURING THE PAST WEEK, TAKING ON A MUCH MORE SERIOUS CONNOTATION.

5. DOBRYNIN SAID THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO CONNECTION BETWEEN THE OVERALL EAST-WEST RELATIONSHIP AND SOVIET ACTIONS IN BERLIN. IF THE U.S. WANTS TO CREATE SUCH A CONNECTION, IT IS UP TO THE U.S., BUT IT IS NOT SOVIET POLICY. HE HAD RECEIVED A TELEGRAM FROM MOSCOW WHICH AUTHORIZED HIM TO DENY THAT A THREAT TO THE U.S. CORPORATE AIRCRAFT WAS MADE LAST WEEKEND. HE SAID THE SOVIETS DO NOT INTEND TO MAKE THIS KIND OF THREAT. THE SOVIET POSITION IS THAT LONGSTANDING PROCEDURES CLEARLY REQUIRE NOTIFICATION OF AIRCRAFT ENTERING THE CORRIDORS AND THAT THIS INCLUDES INFORMATION ABOUT THE FLAGS OF THE AIRCRAFT. BUT THE WEST BEGAN TO CHANGE THIS LONGSTANDING PRACTICE RECENTLY. DOBRYNIN SAID THE SOVIETS WILL STRONGLY ADHERE TO ALL AGREEMENTS AND PROCEDURES AGREED TO BY THE FOUR POWERS.

6. DOBRYNIN RECALLED THE PROCEDURES SET UP IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD WITH FOUR POWER AGREEMENT. THEN THE SOVIETS TOOK ALL RESPONSIBILITY FOR AIRCRAFT SAFETY. PROCEDURES WERE APPROVED BY THE FOUR POWERS. IF YOU FOLLOW THE PROCEDURES, HE SAID, THE USSR IS PREPARED TO GUARANTEE AIRCRAFT SAFETY. HE CONCLUDED WITH THE STATEMENT THAT HE WAS AUTHORIZED TO SAY OFFICIALLY THAT THE USSR IS NOT LOOKING FOR TROUBLE.

7. EAGLEBURGER RESPONDED THAT WE SPENT A GREAT DEAL OF TIME TRYING TO DEAL WITH THESE PROBLEMS AT THE TECHNICAL LEVEL BECAUSE WE WANTED TO SETTLE THEM THERE. OUR VIEW IS THAT IT IS THE SOVIET SIDE WHICH IS DELIBERATELY LINKING IT TO BROADER QUESTIONS. OUR REPORTS ON THE THREAT ARE CLEAR, INCLUDING REPORTS ON THE SCRAMBLING OF AIRCRAFT. NOBODY IS DENYING THAT THE SAFETY OF AIRCRAFT MUST BE PRESERVED. RESERVATIONS OF LOW FLIGHT LEVELS ARE UNDERSTANDABLE FROM TIME TO TIME, BUT NOT AN EXTENSION OF THE AREA COVERED BY RESERVATIONS.

8. DOBRYNIN SAID THAT ORIGINALLY THE AIR CORRIDORS WERE FOR MILITARY TRANSPORT PLANES. BUT, HE SAID, LET US PUT ASIDE THE THREATS MATTER; SOVIET DENIALS ARE ON RECORD. WE SHOULD PROCEED FROM NOW ON, LOOKING AT A RETURN TO CURRENT PROCEDURES, AND PROCEEDING ACCORDING TO THEM.

9. NILES POINTED OUT THAT THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENTS SHOULD NOT BE CHANGED UNILATERALLY, AS THEY WERE BY THE FEBRUARY 20 SOVIET CHANGE IN PROCEDURES. DOBRYNIN RESPONDED THAT THE SOVIETS FEEL THE WEST CHANGED PROCEDURES. WE SHOULD SIT DOWN ON A CONSTRUCTIVE BASIS TO FIND A WAY OUT AND TO TRY TO PLAY DOWN AND NOT INFLAME THE SITUATION. WHEN ASKED BY EAGLEBURGER IF HE HAD THE SENSE FROM MOSCOW THAT THE IDEA IS TO RETURN TO ORIGINAL PROCEDURES, DOBRYNIN SAID YES.

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10. FOLLOWING THE MEETING DOBRYNIN RESPONDED TO QUESTIONS OF REPORTERS WAITING IN STATE DEPARTMENT LOBBY BY SAYING ONLY THAT HE HAD DISCUSSED A SINGLE BILATERAL MATTER IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS WITH THE UNDER SECRETARY. DEPARTMENT WILL SEND APPROPRIATE PRESS GUIDANCE AND COMMENTS BY SEPTELS.

--- TALKING POINTS:

11. THIS NON-PAPER I AM GIVING YOU SUMMARIZES ALLIED VIEWS ON RECENT DIFFICULTIES IN THE BERLIN AIR CORRIDORS. I AM GIVING IT TO YOU PERSONALLY TO UNDERLINE THE SERIOUSNESS OF OUR CONCERNS ABOUT RECENT DIFFICULTIES IN THE BERLIN AIR CORRIDORS. STATEMENTS BY SOVIET OFFICIALS ABOUT THE STATUS OF THE AIR CORRIDORS AND SOVIET BEHAVIOR, ESPECIALLY SINCE YOUR STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY 20, ARE UNACCEPTABLE TO US.

12. SINCE 1945, THE FOUR POWERS HAVE MANAGED THE

COMPLICATED BERLIN AIR REGIME SUCCESSFULLY BECAUSE OF OUR MUTUAL ACCEPTANCE OF THE JOINT NATURE OF OUR RESPONSIBILITIES. RECENT SOVIET ASSERTIONS OF UNILATERAL RIGHTS TO DETERMINE THE ORGANIZATION OF AIR TRAFFIC UNDERMINE THIS PRINCIPLE. WHATEVER THE TECHNICAL PROBLEMS INVOLVED, WE CANNOT ACCEPT SUCH ASSERTIONS OF UNILATERAL RIGHTS OR THE BEHAVIOR WHICH FLOWS FROM THEM.

13. SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES HAVE ASSERTED SEVERAL TIMES THAT RECENT CHANGES IN CORRIDOR PROCEDURES ARE TECHNICAL IN NATURE AND THAT POLITICAL MOTIVATIONS ARE NOT INVOLVED. YOU SHOULD KNOW THAT WE DO NOT SEE IT THAT WAY. DESPITE OUR PROTESTS, SOVIET BEHAVIOR HAS BECOME MORE AGGRESSIVE. WE CAN ONLY CONCLUDE THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS ABANDONED ITS STATED INTENTION TO MAINTAIN CALM IN AND AROUND BERLIN.

14. IN THIS CONNECTION I WISH TO REFER IN PARTICULAR TO THREATS MADE BY THE SOVIET BASIC CONTROLLER ON APRIL 8 TO SHOOT DOWN AN UNARMED AMERICAN-REGISTERED BUSINESS AIRCRAFT. THE SOVIET AIR CONTROLLER IN THE BERLIN AIR SAFETY CENTER MADE THE INITIAL THREAT, WHICH WAS BACKED UP BY THE SOVIET EMBASSY IN BERLIN AND BY COMMUNICATION TO THE US MILITARY LIAISON MISSION IN POTSDAM. SUCH STATEMENTS DO LITTLE TO MAINTAIN HARMONIOUS RELATIONS IN BERLIN AND ADD TO THE DOUBTS ABOUT SOVIET MOTIVES THERE.

15. THIRDLY, THERE HAS BEEN AN ALARMING INCREASE IN THE ABRUPT NOTIFICATION AND CANCELLATION OF AIRSPACE RESERVATIONS THROUGHOUT THE PAST SIX MONTHS. WORKING LEVEL SOVIET PERSONNEL WRONGLY ASSERT THE PRIMACY OF SOVIET FLIGHTS OVER ALLIED FLIGHTS IN THE CORRIDORS. ALLIED FLIGHTS ARE INCONVENIENCED OFTEN, AND MAY BE ENDANGERED BY FIGHTER AIRCRAFT WHO APPARENTLY THEMSELVES FAIL TO TAKE NOTICE OF THE SEEMINGLY ARBITRARY CHANGES IN AIRSPACE RESERVATIONS. THIS UNILATERAL ASSERTION OF THE PRIMACY OF SOVIET FLIGHTS CANNOT CONTINUE.

16. I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO COOPERATE IN BERLIN TO IMPROVE AIR SAFETY. WE CAN TALK ABOUT PRACTICAL ARRANGEMENTS, BUT NOT WHILE UNILATERAL CHANGES IN PROCEDURES REMAIN IN EFFECT AND WHILE THREATS AND ARBITRARY HANDLING OF AIRSPACE RESERVATIONS OCCUR. WE INTEND TO EXERCISE OUR FULL RIGHTS OF ACCESS TO BERLIN.

17. I WISH TO STRESS OUR DESIRE TO MAINTAIN CALM IN BERLIN AND TO PURSUE THE GREATEST POSSIBLE COOPERATION AMONG THE FOUR POWERS. RECENT SOVIET BEHAVIOR IN THE BERLIN AIR REGIME DOES NOT FURTHER SUCH COOPERATION.

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EQUALLY DISTRESSING IS THE IMPRESSION YOUR BEHAVIOR GIVES ABOUT SOVIET INTENTIONS IN BROADER AREAS OF OUR RELATIONS. I ASK THAT YOU MAKE CLEAR TO YOUR AUTHORITIES THAT THERE IS HIGH LEVEL CONCERN IN WASHINGTON ABOUT THIS SITUATION AND THAT IF RECENT MEASURES CONTINUE, WE CANNOT GUARANTEE THAT THE BERLIN ISSUE WILL NOT EXPAND INTO A BROADER DIFFERENCE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. END TALKING POINTS. SHULTZ

END OF MESSAGE

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